224 602 that of the members of a same bilateral family. Likewise, in the pounding of manioc, a2, a14, a18, a22 often work together and prepare a collective mass which will be divided among the same families, and will serve as food for the same persons as those represented in the above chart.

602 603 157 We do not know whether to attribute certain striking behavior of A17 to his classificatory position or to his individual characteristics. He is very clearly conscious of his almost patriarchal position in the midst of the group and of the fact that all the members, or almost all, are as regards him: asuittu, asuittu, tauéttu, tauéttu, tauéttu; he dwells on it, complacently enumerating the terms with grand gestures. He is gay, jovial and finds evident satisfaction in conversation about erotic subjects, contributions to which he enhances by mimicry and appropriate contortions. Within the group, in whose activities he shares only partially, he holds no authority, explicit or implicit.

## RELATIVES AND ALLIED INDIVIDUALS
## OR
## COLLATERALS AND RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE

602 606 There is no apparent difference between the behavior of an individual as regards his spouse's parents and his behavior as regards his own parents. That is, from the point of view of individual relationships, the order of generations takes precedence over that of degrees. Parents-in-law, parents of the third degree, are concretely classed in the second generation ("fathers" and "mothers"). The same can be said for relationships of the wife's father and mother, or of the husband's, with the spouse of these latter. No special prohibition could be noted.

607 605 Sisters-in-law (aseétasu, a1; ndédere, b1) enjoy very free contacts among themselves. They laugh, joke together, do one another small services such as that of mutually rubbing the back with the tincture of urucu (Bixa orellana). However, one is in the presence of completely exceptional relationships [76] when one passes on to brothers-in-law (asúkosu, a1; tarúte, b1), or more exactly (since the name asúkosu does not arise from marriage with the sister but is previous to it) to cross-cousins (masc.).

838 Because of the fact of partial polygamy which reigns within
[595 the group, and which is manifested in the fact that the youngest
582] and prettiest women are periodically withdrawn by the chief or
●605 the shaman from the regular cycle of marriage, the young men often find themselves in difficulty as regards marriage, at least during part of their adolescence, no potential wife being available. This problem is resolved by homosexual relationships, which the Nambikwara language (b1) has named poetically: tamindige kihãdige, that is false love. These relationships are frequent among young people and are carried on much more publicly than normal relations. The couples do not retire to the bush as the adults usually do. They install themselves near a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors. The incident gives rise to some joking comments, usually not carried very far. These relations are considered infantile, and hardly any attention is paid them. The question remains unanswered for us as to whether these practices are carried on to complete satisfaction, or are limited to sentimental effusions, accompanied by erotic play such as those which characterizes, for the most part, relations between husband and wife. Whatever the case may be, the essential point here is that homosexual relations are exclusively relations between cross cousins. Whenever one seeks information from an Indian concerning a relationship of the type just described, the typical response obtained is:

25. tarutebãdige tamĩndige (b1)
(those are) two brothers-in-law making love.

838 We have not been able to ascertain if these relationships of
605 adolescence continue between adults. It seems hardly probable.
607 But relationships of a very special nature are maintained between "brothers-in-law. They exhibit great familiarity toward one another, have among themselves effusions such as we have never noted among brothers or relatives of another degree. Among the
[201] Nambikwara (always prodigious, of course, with affectionate gestures) it is not rare to see two or three men, married and fathers of families, walking in the evening tenderly embracing. The information obtained is, here too, always the same:

26. tarũte ialhasi?ete. (b1)
The brothers-in-law are embracing.

607 Certain games, like the "the game of claws (griffes)"
524 (kajrobĩtunubi, c) are frequent among brothers-in-law.

●605 But the relationship of "cross-cousins potentially or effectively allied by the marriage of their sister"--which seems to be the most adequate equivalent of the [77] term tarûte--can be extrapolated largely above and beyond family relationships. In certain cases, it is used to create, among individuals without relations, original ties whose role is to fuse, indirectly, in a same family group, groups formerly heterogenous. It was noted
621 at the beginning of this work (1) that the central and southern
182
184

1. See p. 6.

groups have decreased quite considerably owing to the epidemics of the last fifteen years. Some of them have seen their power reduced to such a degree that the following of an independent social existence in such conditions might seem an illusory objective. Certain ones then grouped together in the hope of reconstituting a workable unity. Thus it is that when we found them the group designated under the title b1 (restricted), comprising 18 persons, and group c, comprising 34 persons, lived together, under the authority of their respective chiefs, but these working together. It is to be presumed also that the decrease in number was not the only reason for that alliance, and that group c represented a fraction of a more numerous group which it had been forced to flee for an undetermined reason. It probably sought greater security in the nomad's life shared with group b1. Some rather obscure events (2) which occurred

2. See p. 103.

during our stay let us glimpse the political background whose details we do not know. Whatever the case may be, the two groups traveled together, camped at the same times, but without mixing their fires, the constituent families forming two adjacent agglomerations. The most surprising trait of this or-
[[91]] ganization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and could not communicate with one another except through one or two individuals belonging to each group who acted as interpreters. Notably, no direct communication existed between B1, chief of the Tarundé, and his colleague C20, chief and shaman of group Sabané. In fact, if there is

In fact, if there is
621 no doubt concerning the close affinity of dialects a1, a2, b1 and b2,
[197] which do not differ among themselves except as the derivations
182 of a mother language, dialect c offers, as regards the preceding,
184 such profound differences that one does not know if one is in the presence of a language of the same family. In any case, in whatever way linguistic study might resolve this problem, it can be reasonably set forth. We do not hesitate, nevertheless (and in spite of anthropological differences), to place group c in the cultural family of the Nambikwara, because of the identity of material culture and way of life, and especially because of the psychological attitude of groups b1, b2 and c as regards one another, who ostensibly recognize their community.

621 The union of the two groups posed a problem, that of the
●605 nature of the relationships which would go on between their respective members. This problem [78] has been resolved by the recognition of all male members of group c as being "cross-cousins"—tarũte, of all the adult males of group b1, and of all the adult males of group b1 as being the jõpa (corresponding to "cross-cousin" in the vocabulary of parentage of group c) of all the adult males of group c. The result, consequently, is that if all the husbands of the two groups are "brothers-in-law among themselves," all the "wives" of a group are "sisters" of the husbands of the other, and all the children of both sexes, in a group, potential husbands or wives of the infants of the other group belonging to the opposite sex. The blood fusion of the two groups is thus definitely assured for the following generation. Here is a type situation which one finds thus realized:

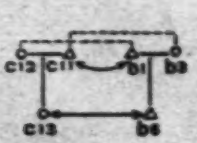


Fig. 18.

The systematic character of this solution is not doubtful. The informants belonging to group b or to group c, when we interrogated them concerning their kinship relationship regarding a male adult of the allied group, never furnished us with a special answer concerning the considered case, but remarked

621 instead that all the Sabané men were for them tarũte, or that all
605 the Tarundé men were jõpa. As a general rule they did not take the trouble to formulate relationships between women, between children, or between adults and children. In all these cases, except several occasions when the deduction was specifically made, they gave as an answer the name of the group: it is called "Sabané" or "Tarundé." It is thus in the function of the relationship of tarũte or jõpa (asũkosu, al) that the system has been conceived and applied.

This fact merits attention, for if the goal of the system were only to assure intermarriages, one could proceed in two other ways, or, more exactly, give two other interpretations for the same solution; one consisting of posing all the women as "sisters-in-law," the other treating all the men of one group and all the women of the other, respectively, as being among themselves "brothers and sisters," and the result would have been the same. Of course, these two aspects are implied in the proposed solution, as its correlaries. However, the solution itself, which could be presented in three different and equivalent ways, has actually been thought, in preferential fashion, to be in the function of the relationship existing between the male and allied collaterals. Several suggestions should thus be examined.

601 [79] Of the three possible solutions, two implied taking the women into consideration, one only was purely masculine, and it is that one which has been chosen. One must not be astonished if, as we suppose, the problem posed was a political problem, thus arising from command, exclusively exercised by the men, and not by a normal play of filiation, which seems rather a
[582] matter of female lineage (1). Although in a simple system of

1. See p. 39.

marriage between cross-cousins, as is the Nambikwara system, the "brothers-in-law among themselves" can be as easily the fathers of the mothers as the fathers of the fathers, this choice gives to the Nambikwara sociology, which to the present time we have had trouble characterizing from this point of view, a decidedly masculine tint, or rather, it bears witness of a tendency in that direction, at the same time that it constitutes the first outline of a social system coming to superimpose itself on the purely family structures to which we have been limited